

JEWS IN WEST GERMAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

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The present inquiry comprises only one aspect of a larger subject. It deals, not with classroom teaching, but only with the teaching materials used. Its boundaries are defined by the following specifications:

(1) The inquiry is limited to one school subject, history. In fact, however, the topic of Jews and the persecution of Jews is not merely a matter of history teaching. It also needs to be taken up in German language and literature classes; and appropriate selections are in fact found in the textbooks for that subject. It may be that interpreting a poem like Paul Celan's "Death Fugue," which frequently appears there, can reach deeper psychological levels than dealing with historical facts can do. Yet a knowledge of these facts is indispensable in seeking to come to grips with such a work of poetic art.

The topic also belongs in the teaching of religion, social studies (for example, in connection with problems like prejudice, minority groups, or wrongdoing by the state), and geography (Israel).

(2) The inquiry is limited to textbooks. But textbooks are not the only information media in the classroom. The teacher may use additional materials. Special collections of historical source materials are often used, and they may be further supplemented with duplicated materials.

In addition, a large number of films, slide shows, tapes and records on the subject can be obtained through audiovisual agencies in charge of supplying such material to schools. The Institute for Films and Pictures in Science and Teaching, which is jointly supported by the states of the Federal Republic of Germany, will shortly publish a special catalogue of offerings concerning temporary history, pursuant to a resolution of its board of directors adopted in late May 1978.

There can be little doubt that audiovisual media, especially films, can be particularly effective means of communication where attitude changes are concerned, even though their mode of effectiveness remains a problem to be researched.²

- (3) The inquiry is limited to the first level of secondary grades, i.e., to textbooks for students aged 10 to 16.

In all states of the Federal Republic, history is a subject of instruction from 7th to 10th grade; in some it begins as early as the 5th or 6th grade.

Contemporary history is also a subject of instruction in vocational schools. Prevailing large variations in such schools, as between different states, school types, vocational fields and scholastic standards, make it impossible to deal with this sector within the framework of a general inquiry.

In the higher level of academic high schools (11th to 13th grade), textbooks of the traditional type are rarely relied on. What is

mainly used there are collections of historical source materials and of extracts from important historical works.³

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- (4) The inquiry cannot embrace all school texts. The production of texts is the business of private publishers. In a particular case it is not always possible to distinguish between school texts and books intended for general or scholarly use; nor can it be taken for granted that books offered to the schools are actually used there in significant quantities. For these reasons, the present inquiry is based solely on books which unquestionably are school texts, are distributed in substantial editions, and are of more than regional significance. In effect, these works are representative of the realities of schooling in the Federal Republic of Germany,

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The inquiry is based on the following works, each in the version distributed for the 1978-79 school year:

- (a) Zeiten und Menschen (Times and People), B, 4 vols., ed. by R.H. Tenbrock and K. Kluxen. Published by Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn. Intended mainly for academic high schools. Approved for use in the states of Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein. Cited below as ZM.
- (b) H.D. Schmid et al., Frägen an die Geschichte (Questions Asked of History), 4 vols. Published by Hirschgraben-Verlag, Frankfurt. Intended for the first level of secondary grades. Vols. 1-4 approved in Baden-Württemberg, Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein. Cited below as FG.
- (c) Heumann et al., Unser Weg durch die Geschichte (Our Path Through History), general edition, 3 vols. Published by Hirschgraben-Verlag, Frankfurt. Intended mainly for non-academic high schools. Approved in Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein. Regional editions, altered in certain details, approved in Baden-Württemberg, Berlin, Bavaria and North Rhine-Westphalia. Cited below as UW.

- (d) Lucas et al. Menschen in ihrer Zeit (People in Their Times), 4 vols. Published by Klett-Verlag, Stuttgart. Intended for first level of secondary grades. Approved in Baden-Württemberg, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein. Cited below as MZ.
- (e) Ebling and Birkenfeld, Die Reise in die Vergangenheit (Journey Into the Past); 4 vols. Published by Georg-Westermann-Verlag, Brunswick. Intended mainly for non-academic high schools. Approved in all states. Cited below as RV.
- (f) Hug et al., Geschichtliche Weltkunde (The World in History), 3 vols. Published by Diesterweg-Verlag, Frankfurt. Intended for first level of secondary grades. Approved in Baden-Württemberg, Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein. Cited below as GW.
- (g) F. Bahl et al., Spiegel der Zeiten (Mirror of the Times), edition B, 4 vols. Published by Diesterweg-Verlag, Frankfurt. Intended mainly for non-academic high schools. Approved in all states (in Bavaria: vols. 2-4, edition C). Cited below as SZ.
- p.5 (h) Grundzüge der Geschichte (Outline of History), 4 vols. Published by Diesterweg-Verlag, Frankfurt. Intended mainly for academic high schools. Approved in all states. Cited below as GG.
- (i) Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk für Mittelklassen (A History Text for Middle Grades), edition C, 4 vols. Published by Klett-Verlag, Stuttgart. Intended mainly for academic high schools. Approved in Baden-Württemberg,

Berlin, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia (vols. 2-4),

Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein; only vol. 1 approved in Bavaria.

Cited below as GU.

III

History texts can be judged only in the light of the general problems of their subject areas.

It is no secret that history teaching and its self-awareness are being called in question today by both insiders and outsiders--more so than any other subject of teaching except possibly German language and literature.⁴

The tremendous volume of material has made it impossible to retain the traditional narrative, chronological style of instruction without modification. Attempts to do so, during the years after 1945, usually left students with a perception of history as an unstructured compilation of details, presented (and reviewed in exams) under constant time pressure. The eventual result was boredom, and the subject was one of the least popular in the schools.

Some older history texts still try to master the plethora of data in narrative fashion; newer ones, in keeping with the slogan about "daring to leave things out," seek to focus on particular points, while making more use of original sources. Both approaches have their dangers: The first leads to a degree of compression where problems of historical understanding cannot be recognized; the second may fail to develop a sense of the time dimension, the capacity for coordinating data by epochs and viewing them comprehensively.⁵

Uncertainty about the goals and methods of historical education prevails in Germany, fed by a variety of causes. At the 1974 Historians' Convention, Werner Conze said, among other things:

"The struggle over the questions whether and to what extent history should remain a separate subject in various school types and grade levels, whether it should be allotted fewer hours, coordinated with other subjects in the area of historical and social science, or perhaps altogether merged ('integrated') with them, has become intensified and politicized in the last few years. Arguments for the indispensability of history instruction, historical knowledge and historical thinking have been plentifully set forth of late and have not been refuted. Basically these arguments are all rooted in the fact that 'remembering' is one of the prime specific characteristics of human existence--simultaneously a capacity, a subjective need and a necessity of human life. From remembrance flows experience; from experience, conscious action and planning for the future.

As far as we are able to look back into the past, people have always found it necessary to formulate memories in language that transcends the individual, to fix them in writing and imagery, and thus to turn them into a pre-scientific form of history. In our world, constantly changing under the impact of science, it has become a matter of course that historical recollections are stored and processed, and that they are examined and assessed with a view to the future. The development of history as a science has been and still is an essential element in the modernization of nations. To transmit history through instruction is a vital necessity. If we were to abandon this endeavor, because amid the immediate, short-term changes of our own brief lives we think it useless, non-essential, burdensome or politically inconvenient, we would be causing our own humanity to atrophy. Thus, the question about history teaching cannot be whether to abandon it or keep it, but how, given overall curriculum requirements, history can be most indelibly impressed on the different age groups as an indispensable element in their education and culture."⁶

The general problems of history as a subject are compounded by a specifically German angle. In the face of the unparalleled atrocities of Nazism, involvement with history does not serve to confirm the selfhood of the individual, nor to elevate individual existence through membership in a group with proud traditions; rather, it makes serious demands on the conscience.

Hans Krollmann, while President of the Standing Conference of State Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs, said at a meeting on joint German and Polish recommendations for school texts:

"Among all peoples and nations, history and historiography have always been viewed with special emphasis on each group's national history. That is natural enough when seen in terms of the meaning of history for national and cultural identity, or simply in terms of the interest which individuals take in their personal origins and in the origins of the community in which they find themselves at a given time. As a matter of principle, history instruction in schools certainly cannot ignore this aspect. But while taking national history as a starting point, history teaching must transcend it, must put it in larger contexts and reach out to include the history of others. Else, there is danger not only of nationalistic narrowness and smugness, but also of arrogance and of fostering prejudices against others--prejudices arising for the most part from inadequate information, not to say total ignorance. As we know, there is no nation that is free from this danger.

"As to the Germans and their relationship with their own history and with history generally, let me make another preliminary observation.

The turning points of our recent history, especially the era of Nazi rule and the subsequent collapse of the state, have left many Germans with a fractured, or at any rate an unsure, relationship with history, and cer-

certainly have made unthinking identification with the national history difficult. Some of us react to this national past with what I will call a goodby to history: a total dwindling of historical awareness, a retreat into the present, an attitude of 'I don't care' and 'it's no business of mine' where the past and the origins of things are concerned. We can perhaps understand this posture on the part of a new generation, which does not wish to be constantly confronted with, and held liable for, the debts of its fathers and grandfathers; but we cannot accept it--and I say this particularly because of my responsibility for the schools in my country--because of such an attitude disregards a part of the reality in which we must, and do, live. The point is that the younger generation must become alive to the historical dimensions of reality, that its historical awareness must be awakened and deepened.

"I do not deny that resentful feelings can arise from, or be renewed by, history and the study of history. But I may also state that for a large majority of Germans today, their own harrowing experiences or the study of the past provide an occasion to reflect critically on their own history, to reject nationalist bias, and to look beyond the boundaries of their own country."

p.9 Another difficulty consists in the tendency of some of the younger historians and social scientists to look upon history as a way of interpreting general structures through specific cases.⁸ In this process, the recognition of singular phenomena--of which, in the opinion of the present writer, Hitler was one--is bound to be impaired.

In addition, the teaching of history, more than most school subjects, is exposed to a fundamentally inextricable tangle of influences from outside the school. Hence, the effects of any one factor--for example, of textbooks--

become even harder to assess scientifically than in any other field. Annette Kuhn has defined historical education as:

"A theory of intermediary processes in their relevance for the teaching and learning of history. As a theory of intermediary processes, historical education focuses mainly on history as the object to be transmitted. However, historical education is also concerned with the intermediary agencies of history, i.e., with the media that shape the student's diffused, unstructured historical and political awareness. Chief among these are the agencies of primary and school socialization: the family with its specific structural levels; the mass media; informal groups; and the school in its dual role as an agency for replicating societal norms and values and as an educational agency serving the individual self-realization of the student. Furthermore, we must take into account the specific socialization media of history instruction, i.e., guidelines, history texts, the teacher's historical awareness, and historical science. All of these affect the experiential foundation of history and the patterns of interpretation by which students assimilate historical reality. These agencies, then, constitute the student's world of experience, which is just as significant an ingredient in the process of learning history as is the subject matter. For it is precisely the student's diffuse, pre-scientific experiential world, his everyday awareness, that is to become structured through history instruction, i.e., to be transformed into a structured historical and political awareness. Historical and political instruction means: to make possible, by means of teaching, a transformation of the historical and political elements in the student's everyday consciousness into a structured historical and political awareness through the medium of historical science."

"This definition of historical education implies a view of history teaching as a communicative mediation process."⁹

What results may be attributed to such teaching remains an open question, in the view of Ingrid Thienel-Saage:

"To date, historical education has not been able to offer reliable empirical findings on the long-term effects of history teaching, or on the historical awareness of adults in relation to instruction received and to other factors of historical education or socialization. Studies of the effectiveness of history teaching are few, and they only survey students' knowledge, insights and attitudes toward learning, often in direct correlation with available units of study."¹⁰

Thienel-Saage continues:

"The potential contribution of classroom history to historical insight and judgment is not to be denied. But does such teaching actually play any role--and if so, what role--in shaping a long-term, practically relevant historical consciousness? And how does this role compare with those of other agencies of pre-school and post-school historical socialization?"

According to Thienel-Saage, no one has a conclusive answer to this question.

Probably most widely noted among recent attempts to assess the younger generation's knowledge of Nazism has been a collection of excerpts from school themes, edited by Dieter Bossmann and published under the title Was ich über Adolf Hitler gehört habe ("What I Have Heard About Adolf Hitler").¹¹ Strong objections may be raised to the editor's method of selection, clearly aiming for a sensational result; to the manner of quotation, in which often scarcely a sentence is left complete, providing hardly any context for interpretation; and particularly to the further exaggeration of the material in its marketing through

the media. Bossmann's publication is useless for drawing any conclusions about the effect of history teaching and the history texts used, if only because it fails to distinguish between those students who have dealt with the subject in school and those who--because of their age or otherwise--have not yet done so. In any case, statements about specific shortcomings among Germans would be meaningful only if we knew something about the knowledge of recent history among the youth of other, comparable nations.

Even with these limitations, the overall picture is not encouraging, at any rate as concerns factual knowledge (for example, the number of victims, relating information to overall contexts, or differentiating between what is essential and what is inessential. However, when it comes to moral evaluations, I believe that, with all due caution, a different judgment is indicated. Bossmann prints a total of 310 statements concerning the persecution of the Jews. Only five of them can be classified as unequivocally anti-Semitic. A good many others cannot be definitely classified, due to the manner of quotation, but a large majority condemn the discrimination of Jews and their murder. Again and again a helpless bafflement over the motives of these deeds may be felt. Thus, a 14-year-old writes: "Why he gassed and persecuted the Jews, I do not know."

IV

In the Federal Republic of Germany, schools are under the jurisdiction of the individual states. Curricula are accordingly prescribed by the Education and Cultural Affairs Department of each state. Fortunately, it is not necessary for our purpose to analyze and evaluate this multitude of curricula, for the Standing Conference of State Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs years ago adopted binding resolutions on how National Socialism is to be dealt with in the classroom. Thus, a resolution on "The treatment of the Recent Past in History and Civics Instruction," adopted on February 11-12, 1960,¹² ruled that Nazism is to be scrutinized in depth in the highest grade of all schools. In a resolution dated July 5, 1962, the Ministers handed down a set of "Guidelines for the Treatment of Totalitarianism in Classroom Teaching,"¹³ specifying that the following be covered:

- (1) The Road to the Totalitarian State. Hitler and the origin and goals of the Nazi party; Hitler's accession to power on January 30, 1933; the destruction of the legal and constitutional order (including the suspension of the chief fundamental rights through the decree of February 28, 1933, the Enabling Act and the so-called Röhm putsch); the "coordination" of political and societal life.
- (2) Nazism's System of Terror. The fight against political opponents and the Christian churches; the SS, the Gestapo and the concentration camps; racial policies, including extermination of Jews and destruction of "worthless lives."

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- (3) Hitler's Policy of Conquest and the Systematic Preparations for the Second World War. The duplicity of German foreign policy, with declarations of peaceful aims alongside preparations for war (e.g., *Mein Kampf* and the "Hossbach manuscript," which records Hitler's plans as of 1937); job creation in the service of rearmament and war preparation; broken treaties and annexations; Hitler's pact with Stalin.
- (4) The Second World War as a European Catastrophe. The onslaught on Poland and on neutral states; the attack on the Soviet Union; "total war"; terror in the occupied territories; the turning point of the war; Germany's collapse and its consequences.
- (5) German Resistance Against the Nazi System. Outer and inner emigration; resistance groups; the assassination attempt of July 20, 1944.

Also on July 5, 1962, the Ministers released a set of "Recommendations for the Preparation of Textbooks for Instruction in Recent and Contemporary History."¹⁴ The document reads:

"Given the mass of material, any representation of history must be selective. Hence the criteria by which selections are made are particularly significant."

"The Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Culture recommends that the following principles be observed in preparing texts for instruction in recent and contemporary history:

"(1) Historical knowledge is required for understanding the present in depth. One of the chief tasks of history instruction in the schools is to equip future citizens with the capacity to make political judgments.

History must be understood as an area of human decision-making, and must

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be made fruitful for education in political responsibility. For these purposes, mere exposition of facts and correlations will not suffice. As to factually correct instruction, it is an unqualified obligation.

"(2) Particular emphasis is indicated for contemporary history (1917 to date). Germany's present political situation and the causes thereof must be made clear. Without coming to grips with Nazism in depth, political education is impossible in Germany.

"(3) German history is to be treated in the context of the history of European states and nations. Textbooks also are to show how the non-European world powers developed during the 20th century and how Europe's and Germany's position in the world has accordingly changed. The development of former colonies into independent states is to be noted, as is their role in the present era.

"(4) Textbooks are to make clear the significance of supranational organizations and alliances that are decisively affecting the course of events today.

"(5) Textbooks must identify totalitarian manifestations and tendencies of whatever kind as the decisive threat to our world. They must show the opposition between democracy and totalitarianism (especially Nazism and Communism), as well as the resistance of forces of freedom.

"(6) In dealing with wars, descriptions of military events are to be subordinated. The causes of wars and their societal, economic and psychic effects are to be noted, and the sufferings of the nations involved are to be particularly stressed.

"(7) Cultural, economic and social forces, as well as technological developments, should be described according to their historical significance.

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"(8) Particular attention is to be devoted to the language used. Words and idioms from the totalitarian vocabulary must be avoided, or else identified as such.

"(9) The significance of individual events must be reflected in the space devoted to each and in the typographic design.

"(10) Illustrations in history texts should be of documentary value, and should be so chosen that they cannot serve to glorify war or totalitarianism in any way; likewise the picture captions."

"(11) Attention is drawn to the appropriate resolutions of the Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs, as well as the recommendations of the International School Textbook Institute in Brunswick."

The Ministers have recently reaffirmed their view. On April 20-21, 1978, they resolved as follows:

"In years past, the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs have repeatedly declared that one of the schools' important tasks is to equip students for making political judgments and to undergird this capacity through solid knowledge, particularly about the history of our nation's more recent past. This is a necessary basis for protecting young people from the danger of disguised tyranny. This need was defined by the Conference of Ministers in several documents, including the resolution on 'The Treatment of the Recent Past in History and Civics Instruction' and the 'Guidelines for the Treatment of Totalitarianism in Classroom Teaching,' and has since been taken into account in the curriculums of the different

states. The task is a continuing one. Today, as heretofore, the schools must counteract the uncritical acceptance of representations that trivialize or actually glorify the Third Reich and its representatives, characterized as it was by dictatorship, genocide and inhumanity.

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"The Ministers will bring the above problems to the attention of the schools, together with the relevant resolutions of the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Culture. They will instruct the schools to approach the matter with particular intensity, in keeping with the guidelines and curriculums."¹⁵

That the Ministers' Conference has helped through its resolutions to institute unified practices is attested by the fact that the texts listed in section II, above, have been approved by most, or in some cases by all, states.

In recent years, school texts have been increasingly subjected to critical analysis. One major reason would seem to be that textbooks are an element of schooling that is always at hand to be scrutinized, whereas classroom instruction is hardly accessible to research and is qualitatively affected by being observed. As the society's broad consensus concerning schools and education has been abandoned, criticism of school texts has become more and more politicized.¹⁶

An adequate method of textbook analysis is still in an early stage of development.¹⁷ Most such inquiries have focused on quantification of subject matter; they count the number of lines devoted to a given topic and identify factual and scientific defects. Many researchers who follow this procedure actually predetermine their results through the method used, if only because they fail to take into account the specific characteristics that distinguish school texts from monographs. They pay no attention to curriculum requirements, nor to the goals of instruction, nor even so obvious a factor as the ratio between the amount of material and the number of available classroom hours per week.

Schallenberger¹⁸ refers to a lack of thought about the schools' educational procedures and about educational needs generally. Ritsert adds: "The kind of content analyst who is satisfied with a mathematical workup of all the trivialities to which his inquiries usually lead misses the peculiar qualities (effective contents) of school texts."¹⁹

Among the reasons, the most significant would appear to be that both quantitative and substantive findings, while easily capable of being reconciled with the requirements of scientific objectivity, cannot be assessed without a measure

of subjectivity as regards their suitability for motivating the student, to promote deeper insights or to convey norms of behavior and value preferences.

Acknowledging this condition seems to me to be more appropriate and to do more justice to the task in hand than abdicating from making judgments on truly educational issues.

In my opinion, the best discussion of the various methods of textbook analysis is that by Peter Meyers.²⁰ He distinguishes five methods: descriptive-analytical, content-analytical, quantitative, qualitative, and ideological-critical.

p.18 The present inquiry incorporates elements of all these methods, and of necessity uses quantitative findings as a basis for comparisons, but it ultimately aims for qualitative, evaluative results.

Chaim Schatzker²¹ has noted that, as of now, overall analysis of our subject is still in a preliminary stage:²²

"Despite numerous beginnings and broadly based interest, there is as of now no reliable survey of material concerning Jewish history and the State of Israel in the history texts used in the schools of the Federal Republic. Hence, the evaluations and value judgments offered by various parties are of limited validity."²³

Schatzker estimates that a scientist would need a full year merely for a quantitative survey.

One paper still deserving attention dates back to 1963.²⁴ A more recent inquiry, by Rainer Riemenschneider, notes that considerable improvements, both quantitative and qualitative, have been made since then.²⁵

The present investigation, too, can only be a beginning; but even partial results should permit some general conclusions.

There is no need to explain why history textbooks, given copious material and limited space, cannot present a continuous, chronological Jewish history. Instruction books for German schools must deal from a German viewpoint with an

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exceedingly complex network of relationships. Still, in view of the immense historical burden of the Nazi crimes, the subject of Jews and Jewry carries singular weight. We must therefore ask whether German history texts make for a reasonable adequate historical understanding of developments that lead to genocide. This is not meant in the sense of a fated chain of cause and effect; on the contrary, special emphasis ought to be given to those historical events that might have made alternative developments possible. Historical fatalism basically denies men's responsibility for their actions, substituting a pseudo-rational pattern of events for man-made decisions.

VI

What groups of data and what events deserve to be dealt with under these criteria is, to some degree, a question of judgment. Similarly, a decision of this kind had to be made for the present inquiry. Clearly, alternative conceptions were possible. I would have taken different avenues if the texts examined had so indicated with any cogency; but this was not the case.

The inquiry examines the treatment of the themes listed below. They seem to me to constitute a minimum requirement for textbook treatments that aim to foster historical insight, particularly as regards the history of anti-Semitism in Europe.

- (1) The social position of the Jews in medieval society, particularly the ghetto.
- (2) The persecutions of Jews in the Middle Ages, especially in connection with the Crusades.
- (3) The reasons for large-scale Jewish settlement in Poland.
- (4) Jewish culture in the Middle Ages, particularly in Spain.
- (5) The expulsion of Jews from European countries, especially from Spain.
- (6) The emancipation of the Jews in the 19th century.
- (7) The ideological roots of modern anti-Semitism.
- (8) The Nazi persecution of the Jews, specifically:
- (a) The nullification of Jewish rights; the Nuremberg Laws.
 - (b) The "Crystal Night."
 - (c) Genocide.

(9) Jewish contributions to German culture.

(10) The genesis and history of Israel.

In evaluating each text, my criteria have been whether a particular topic is dealt with at all and, if so, how voluminously, in what context, and in what form of presentation. For example: how precise is the language? Does the passage create an awareness of the problems? Where applicable, are affective as well as cognitive goals considered? The presence of suitable illustrations and graphs is included in the evaluations, for, obviously, purely verbal presentation cannot do justice to many of the facts of history. Particularly where deeper psychic levels are to be reached, a picture will as a rule make a more powerful statement. Thus, the defamation of the Jews and their separation from their fellow citizens can be made much more immediate, and probably more memorable, through pictures than through words--such as a photo of school children forced to stand in a classroom wearing Jewish stars while the teacher writes anti-Semitic slogans on the blackboard, or a picture showing an old Jew whose white beard is being singed off by Nazis.

VII

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The following are the findings with respect to the individual themes:

i. [Social position of the Jews in medieval society.]

All of the works surveyed have something to say about the social situation of Jews in medieval society. ZM (vol. II, p. 120) features a picture of Jews with pointed hats and adds a brief but informative statement:

"In the cities of the Middle Ages, the Jews led a separate life. They were compelled to live in a district assigned solely to them, the ghetto, which was locked in the evening and on Sundays; they had to wear tall, pointed hats, and were not allowed to organize in artisans' guilds. Many Jews therefore engaged in the money business, lending money to Christians at interest. Since Christians were not allowed to charge interest, the Jews did not lack customers, among them kings and princes. Because of the shortage of money, interest rates were high; hence, many debtors tried, under empty pretexts, to inveigle the population into bloody persecutions, thus getting rid of the creditors by violent means."

In FG (vol. II, p. 110) an extract from the Cologne dress code of 1404 appears. The book leaves it to the teacher to derive insights from such a source. The next page has a map showing the regions where the Jews of Constance did business.

UW (vol. II, p. 53) has a contemporary picture showing a letter of protection being handed to a group of Jews. This text refers particularly to economic factors:

"They were, however, subjected to special limitations. They lived segre-

gated in districts of their own, known as ghettos. In many old cities a street called 'Jews' Street' still recalls those days. Jews were also forced to wear distinctive clothing: the kaftan--a loose coat with yellow stripes on the sleeves--and a pointed hat.

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"Many Christians were debtors of the Jews. Christians had been forbidden by the Church to lend money at interest (see p. 103). Therefore, whoever needed money to build a house or for some other purpose had to go to the Jews. They charged high interest. A profitable business was to compensate them for having arbitrary fines and levies imposed on them or even being robbed. The Jews were not allowed to acquire real estate. The craftsmen's guilds accepted no Jewish members. The Jews therefore had only the money business and commerce to fall back on. As merchants, they made great contributions to the development of long-distance commerce in Europe."

A similar approach is taken by MZ (vol. II, pp. 78f.), RV (vol. II, p. 81) and GW (vol. I, p. 157). The latter seeks to motivate students beyond the mere acquisition of knowledge--for example, with an assignment to find out where the synagogue and the Jewish cemetery of their home town were located in former days.

The same assignment is set in SZ (vol. II, p. 100). GG (vol. II, p. 106) offers approximately the same information as the works cited, but adds this sentence: "From their faith, the Jews again and again drew the inner strength to resist all hostility."

GU (vol. I, p. 74) sets forth approximately the same material as the other works, but at times lapses into an inappropriate theatrical or moralizing style:

"Vigorously the guilds fought, determinedly the old families defended their

p.23 rights; but they paid no attention at all to a part of the population that lived segregated, by itself, untouched by these struggles. They were the Jews, who for a long time had resided in the cities as traders, living apart from the other inhabitants in a 'Jews' Street.' Originally they had carried on substantial long-distance commerce, which extended beyond the borders of the Empire as far as Spain. As trade was gradually taken over by the Germans themselves, the livelihood of the Jews became more and more restricted to currency exchange and moneylending. The high interest rates then customary often angered burghers who were debtors. An added force was the enmity of fanatical Christians against the 'murderers of the Lord.' With the Crusades, bloody persecutions began (cf. p. 48). What good did it do the Jews that since the days of Henry IV they had been under the protectorate of the King, or that since Frederick I they had belonged to the 'Imperial Chamber'? From the rage of the people, no one--not even a bishop--could protect them without endangering his own life. Afterwards, it took a long time before tranquillity returned to the city; often not a single Jew remained alive by that time!"

All of the books examined say something about the ghetto situation and the religious and economic factors. Important basic information is conveyed. That the picture nevertheless remains undifferentiated and schematic is clearly due to lack of space.

p.24 2. [Persecutions of Jews in the Middle Ages]

The medieval persecutions of the Jews are also mentioned in all the texts except RV, often directly in conjunction with Theme 1.

Usually, the religious fanaticism of the Crusade movement is placed in the foreground. Some books also describe the persecutions after the Black Death. Economic factors, too, are mentioned. ZM refers to "persecution and plundering"

of the Jews without stating more definitely in what these acts consisted; a brief text from an original source is added (vol. II, p. 46). Also noted is the self-interest which debtors had in seeing their creditors bloodily persecuted (vol. II, p. 120).

FG prints an excerpt from a report of the year 1096 by the Jewish chronicler Eliezer ben-Nathan (vol. II, p. 60).

VW tells about the Crusades (vol. II, p. 53) and the persecutions during the great plague. Two sources of concrete immediacy are quoted:

(Vienna, 1349:) "They said the Jews had poisoned all wells, meaning to kill Christendom, and little bags of poison were found in many wells, and maney of them were killed along the Rhine, in Franconia and everywhere else in German lands. Truly, whether any Jews actually did this, I do not know. If it had really happened, it would have contributed to the matter first mentioned [the plague]. But this I know full well: that there were more of them in Vienna than in any other city I know of in German lands, and here they died in such numbers that they had to enlarge their cemetery by a great deal, buying two houses to that end."

(Strasbourg, 1349:) "On Saturday, St. Valentine's Day (February 14), the Jews were burned in their cemetery on a wooden platform. There were 2,000 of them, but those who would let themselves be baptized were allowed to live. Many children were taken out of the fire because of their mothers and fathers who were baptized. Whatever debts were owed to the Jews were all canceled, and all pawns and notes of indebtedness were given back.

The cash was taken by the Council, —

which divided it pro rata among the artisans' guilds. The money was the reason the Jews were killed. If they had been poor and the rulers of the land had not been indebted to them, they would not have been burned."

MZ cites a passage from Albert of Aachen (vol. II, p. 28), and also quotes the Strasbourg chronicle of 1349 (vol. II, p. 85). GW describes in exemplary fashion the murders of Jews in Worms (vol. I, p. 145). SZ has only one sentence (vol. II, p. 58). GG, like others, relies on the Strasbourg chronicle (vol. II, p. 130). An inadequate reference (see quotation under Theme I) is found in GU (vol. I, p. 74).

Most of the books do not go beyond a brief narrative statement of the facts; only a few use sources of the period to make the matter more vivid.

Illustrations are not used.

3. [Reasons for settlement in Poland]

The Jewish settlement in Poland has been of decisive significance for the history of the European Jews, and in this investigator's opinion must be known if the destruction of the Jews by the Nazis is to be understood. In addition, the existence of Yiddish, a Germanic dialect, would seem suited to arouse the interest of the authors of German history texts. Yet only brief references, if any, are to be found.

For example, ZM states:

"Many Jews escaped the persecutions by fleeing to Poland and Russia.

Here they formed new communities; but for the most part they retained the German language of those days. From the blending of Hebrew and German words grew a new language spoken only by Jews: Yiddish" (vol. I, p. 120).

FG mentions only a single date: "1133 AD -- Jews invited to Poland."

On the next page, there is a map of Jewish population movements, but it does

p.26
(p.25 is
missing)

not make clear the massing of Jews in Poland. UW is wholly inadequate; it states:

"From the persecutions in Germany they fled to the east, where the Polish king granted them a letter of protection" (vol. I, p. 54).

What historical insights students are supposed to gain from sentences like these is not evident. MZ is considerably better, though brief:

"After these persecutions, which Popes and Emperors vainly sought to stop, most surviving German Jews sought asylum in Eastern Poland. There their descendants lived, though again and again persecuted and murdered, until their extermination in the Second World War. There too, their language, Yiddish, developed from medieval High German plus Hebrew and Slavic words" (vol. II, p. 85).

p.27

GW makes do with half a sentence, to the effect that the displaced Jews "mostly emigrated to Poland" (vol. I, p. 157); similarly SZ (vol. II, p. 100). Emigration and the genesis of Yiddish are also briefly mentioned in GG (vol. II, p. 106). The topic is not even mentioned in RV and GU.

4. [Jewish culture in the Middle Ages]

The present investigator believes the flowering of Judaism under conditions of tolerance, for example in Muslim Spain, to be important as a counter-weight to the oppressive ghetto situation. The authors of the texts do not share this view. MZ does more than most in mentioning that Spain "to a considerable extent owed the high levels of its scholarship and its economy" to the Jews.

5. [Expulsion of Jews from European countries]

Similarly, the expulsion from the major countries of Europe (Spain, Portugal, France, England) are only mentioned here and there in passing. Nowhere is a distinction drawn between Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews.

For example, ZM does not do justice to the facts in stating that the

Inquisition "prompted all Jews...to emigrate" (vol. II, p. 198). FG states the years of the expulsions from France, England and Spain, as well as the map mentioned under 3, above. MZ has the most detail:

"The Expulsion of Jews and Moors. Since the early Middle Ages, large portions of Spain had been ruled by Moorish princes. Not until 1492 had the Christians reconquered the last remaining parts of the Iberian peninsula. Many Moors still lived in southern Spain, where they had settled as peaceful farmers and artisans. In addition, Spain had a large number of Jews, to whom the country, to a considerable extent owed the high levels of its scholarship and its economy. But before the year 1492 was over, the Christians put an end to the coexistence with the Jews. By the hundreds of thousands they were driven from the country where they had lived for centuries. They fled to neighboring Portugal; some went farther, to Holland and Constantinople" (vol. II, p. 137).

SZ states that "Jews were driven from the country," giving a wrong picture by omitting the definite article ("the Jews").

p. 28
Inappropriate and basically inhumane in its premises is GG's assertion that the expulsion of Jews and Moors "did strengthen the internal unity of the Spanish monarchy, but destroyed segments of the population which, thanks to their habits of hard work, were of great value to the Spanish economy" (vol. II, p. 217). UW, RV, GW and GU have nothing.

6. [Emancipation of the Jews]:

The Jewish emancipation of the 19th century also definitely belongs to the fund of historical knowledge required for an understanding of the events under Nazism. For German texts the reform policy of Prussia is available as a paradigm. ZM says only: "The emancipation of Jews, following the model of the French Revolution, put an end to the centuries-old disadvantaged

legal status of this part of the population" (vol. III, p. 93). FG is better, featuring a piece of original source material on the oppressed condition of the Jews and an extract of Prussia's 1812 edict on the Jews (vol. III, p. 161). Also quite concise are the references in UW (vol. III, p. 29), MZ (vol. III, p. 86), GU (vol. III, p. 94) and RV (vol. III, p. 81). Nothing at all is found in GW. An extract from the edict on the Jews is printed in SZ. A somewhat different approach is taken by GG, which mentions Hardenberg's Prussian reform only in passing, but pays tribute to the reform of Joseph II in Austria:

"Also improved was the legal position of the Jews. They were allowed to dispense with the special dress previously prescribed, and to assume German family names. They could be admitted to universities, practice as artisans or establish factories" (vol. III, p. 110).

7. [Roots of modern anti-Semitism]

To come to grips with Nazism, one must explore its impure intellectual sources; otherwise Hitler will appear as a unique kind of natural phenomenon. Obviously, school texts can do no more than touch upon so complex a theme, but some fundamental data can certainly be conveyed. For example, ZM provides the following explanation (vol. III, p. 241):

"The Semites are a language family to which belong the Jews and the Arabs, among others. At the end of the 19th century, the word 'anti-Semitism' was invented; it means hostility against Jews. In late antiquity and the Middle Ages, Jews were often persecuted for religious reasons, because Jews had crucified Jesus. When, with the increased economic need for money, Jews grew rich, because as non-Christians they were allowed to charge interest, they often became the target of Christians' economic envy. Toward the end of the 19th century, after the Jews--thanks to the efforts of Enlightenment and liberal thought--

had attained civic equality, political hostility against them was added to economic enmity among part of the nationalist-oriented middle class. An additional factor was biological anti-Semitism, which viewed Jews as an inferior race. The anti-Semites claimed that Jews were full of negative human qualities and that all failures of modern civilization were their fault. Anti-Semitism was widespread. In Germany during the Third Reich, it culminated in the monstrous attempt to destroy all the Jews systematically."

In the presentation of data, the book is even more detailed (vol. III, p. 217):

"One group against which some of the social tensions were discharged were the Jews. Among a portion of the nationalist-oriented middle class, it had become a habit to hold Jews responsible for whatever was objectionable.

"During late antiquity and the Middle Ages, Jews had often been persecuted on religious grounds--because, it was said, Jews had crucified Christ. Later they were persecuted out of envy, because as non-Christians they were allowed to charge interest, and thus some of them had grown rich as the need of the economy for money increased. In the 19th century, as a result of Enlightenment thought and liberalism, they had finally been accorded civic equality. But at the same time, Jew hatred stirred anew. It was most strongly prevalent among members of the old-established middle class. The reasons were economic and social.

"Just as in the Middle Ages the Jews had often been blamed for outbreaks of the plague or other epidemics, they were now made the 'scapegoat' for the threat which the capitalist economy posed to the existence of many people. The Jews were not weighed down by class or economic traditions; once they had attained civic freedom, they were able to turn to those sectors of

p.30 the economy where vigorous growth was to be expected, and in at least some cases they had the use of capital, the importance of which became ever more apparent, and which the middle class often lacked. Relatively often they went into prestigious independent professions (for example, as physicians or lawyers). It was an obvious idea to seek the reasons for business failure and downward social mobility not at one's own door, but at that of the troublesome new competitor. His successes were attributed, not to greater personal effort, but to the aid of an ultra-powerful, mysterious force, 'Jewish finance capital.' Also, the organization of industrial labor, feared by many members of the middle class because it threatened their existence, intensified the hatred against Jews, because Jews played a conspicuous role among the spokesmen for the proletariat.

"During the second half of the 19th century, racist hatred of Jews arose in addition to hostility growing from religious and economic roots. From it stems the concept of 'anti-Semitism.' Count Gobineau (1814-1892) of France wrote an Essay on the Inequality of Human Races. Pseudo-scientific arguments, which quickly found acceptance though they could not withstand serious scrutiny, were advanced to prove that there were separate human races that differed in mentality and cultural productiveness. Only the white race and particularly its Germanic branch (called Aryans, a term borrowed from linguistics) had brought forth creative talents, it was claimed. There was nothing surprising in this 'historico-biological' doctrine at a time where Europe was moving to complete the conquest of Africa and Asia. In Germany, the linkage of these ideas with anti-Semitism derives to a large degree from the writings of Houston Stewart Chamberlain, an Englishman who was Richard Wagner's son-in-law. Chamberlain asserted that the Jews, a people from the

Semitic family of languages, carried within them all negative human qualities.

"Anti-Semitism illustrated the society's baneful habit of not only despising minorities but distrusting and persecuting them. In the second half of the 19th century, hatred of Jews erupted dangerously, particularly in Russia (the pogroms or persecutions of Jews in 1881) and France (see pp. 180f.)."

An assignment question follows:

"Jew hatred in the Middle Ages and Jew hatred in the 19th century had both common and very different roots. Name them and consider the situation today."

EG also features a detailed text (vol. IV, p. 61):

"How old is anti-Semitism?

"After the rebellions against Roman rule, in 66-72 and 132 A.D., Jews lived as a scattered religious and cultural minority in all parts of the Roman Empire. Holding on unshakably to their faith and customs, and refusing to embrace Christianity, Jewish minorities were felt, particularly during the Christian Middle Ages, to be an alien element in the society and were relegated to an outsider's role. The Christian church blamed them for the sacrificial death of Christ; on the other hand, the Jewish communities in the cities lived under the protection of the Emperor, for which they paid a 'Jews' tax.' Nevertheless, they were banished into segregated city districts (ghettos). Since they were forbidden to acquire real estate, or practice crafts within the guilds, they were driven into commerce and moneylending, especially since Christians were not allowed to engage in 'usury,' i.e., charging interest.

Religious prejudices, economic envy, and the society's needs to find scapegoats for difficulties, debt and hardships led to the formation of anti-Jewish legends, especially since the crusades in the 11th century. Jews were accused of desecrating the sacred Host and poisoning wells, and held responsible for the plague. From the 11th century crusades on, persecutions and expulsions kept befalling the Jewish communities.

"In the era of princely absolutism, wealthy Jewish moneymen were often retained to finance the lavish expenditures of courts and governments, which earned them the hatred of the population. Equality was eventually granted to Jews, thanks to the Enlightenment idea of toleration, and was guaranteed in, for example, the U.S. Constitution (1787), the French Revolution (1791) and the Prussian reform laws (1812), but by and large this helped only those who underwent baptism. Even baptized (assimilated) Jews in practice remained excluded from officers' positions and, for the most part, from holding public office. What remained open to the Jews, once the universities had started to admit them, were professional careers (as physicians, lawyers, journalists, in the arts and humanities), plus commerce and banking as before. In these fields they sometimes achieved strong positions.

"This new position of Jewry in 19th century society became the target of a new anti-Semitic movement in the nationalist middle class: racist anti-Semitism. The Jews were labeled as a racially inferior alien element, bent on destroying the Germanic race, disintegrating German cultural life, and above all extending their position in international Jewish finance into world domination. At the same time, Jewish journalists and politicians (e.g. Marx, Lasalle, Bernstein) championed democracy and the workers'

movement in the liberal parties and the Social Democratic Party. In 1897, the Reichstag had 16 anti-Semitic members, who came from the Centrist Party, the (Protestant) Christian Social Party or nationalist and völkisch groups. Also anti-Semitic in orientation was the circle of the operatic composer, Richard Wagner. In Vienna, where Hitler's political ideas were formed, German nationalist anti-Semitism was directed mainly against Eastern Jews, who had been immigrating into Austria in great numbers since the repeated persecutions in Russia and Poland that followed upon the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881. In the Weimar Republic, German nationalist, völkisch and national-socialist anti-Semitism held the Jews responsible for the revolution, the defeat of 1918 and the Versailles Treaty."

p.32

A separate paragraph follows, referring to Nazi anti-Semitism, which is dealt with later.

MZ has detailed passages referring, among other things, to the Dreyfus affair, the pogroms in Russia and völkisch anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria (vol. IV, pp. 22f., 226ff.).

This book focuses particularly on the mechanisms by which prejudice is formed and seeks to counteract them.

GW treats the topic more succinctly, drawing on a Nazi source, which requires explanation by the teacher (vol. III, p. 112):

"Hostility against the Jews on a religious or economic basis had developed, in 19th century Western Europe, into racist anti-Semitism. The imperialist expansion of the industrial countries was explained in terms of the biological superiority of the 'white race,' whose nucleus, the 'Aryan race,' was the only one that had kept itself pure. 'Aryan,' originally a linguistic concept, was combined with the biological notion of 'race,' and was applied to human groupings."

"Distinct from the 'European races' are the 'alien races,' among which we count the colored race as well as the Near Eastern and Oriental. The last two constitute the core of the Jewish people. The European races are often collectively referred to as 'Aryan,' in opposition to the alien races as 'non-Aryan.' Non-Aryan elements in all European nations are mainly the Jews. In addition, the Russians include considerable Mongolian (yellow) racial elements and the French increasingly include black ones....In Germany, the designation 'Aryan' is now being replaced by the description 'of German and related blood.' Nordic blood and Germanic life were at one time much more strongly represented in Europe than now. Where they were lost, the national character changed, and the creative will atrophied." (From: Prof. Dr. Staemmler, Deutsche Rassenpflege (Cultivating the Germanic Race), Field Publication of the Wehrmacht High Command, no. 29, 1941, pp. 21f. Endorsed: "For use within the Wehrmacht only.")

The same wording is found in SZ, published by the same house (vol. IV, pp. 81f.). GU offers a summary of Hitler's "racial doctrine" (vol. IV, p. 98), but does not explain how it found a following. RV has nothing coherent on the subject.

Without showing the historic roots, GG presents the following description, making anti-Semitism look almost like a private fad on Hitler's part (vol. IV, p. 151):

p.33 "In Hitler's view, the worldwide enemy of the 'Aryan leaders' race' were the Jews. They embodied everything that was dark, evil and wicked. They were said to be 'parasites,' the 'well poisoners of world history.' A Jewish world conspiracy was alleged to aim at the destruction of the Aryan race, especially the German people. This conspiracy was charged with instigating the First World War against Germany and setting off the revolution of 1918. The Versailles Treaty was allegedly the triumph of this scheme. The Jewish element was also said to be the leading element in

'world capitalism' and 'world Bolshevism,' the two chief enemies of the coming glory of a new Germany: 'The Jews are our misfortune.'

"The misery of Germany in those days was due in Hitler's view to the German defeat in the First World War, the 'foreign Jewish influence' effected by the 'system' of the Weimar Republic, and the 'disproportion between our population and our area.'"

All in all, the authors of the texts surveyed have emphasized the subject in greatly varying degrees. Only ZM and EG can be considered really adequate.

8. [Nazi persecution]

The persecution of the Jews by National Socialism is described in detail in all texts surveyed; hence subdivision of the data is indicated. First (a) we shall focus on the increasing nullification of rights after the Nazi takeover.

FG offers extracts from a 1935 decree on discrimination against Jewish schoolchildren; from an SS propaganda pamphlet, also dating from 1935; and from the Nuremberg Laws (vol. IV, p. 59). The descriptive text notes the economic boycott and the firing of Jewish public servants.

ZM quotes a 1938 decree prohibiting Jews from conducting independent businesses and requiring the discharge of Jewish executives, as well as an order by Goebbels forbidding Jews to take part in cultural events. The work describes the denial of rights as follows (vol. IV, pp. 103ff.):

"In 1932, 564,000 citizens of the Jewish faith lived in Germany. With Hitler's seizure of power, they entered upon a path of suffering which was to deprive them of home or life, and deeply humiliate the German people."

"Initially, in view of their still insecure rule of the country and the opinions of the outside world, the Nazis carried out their anti-Jewish measures with a degree of restraint. On April 1, 1933, SA and SS pickets

were stationed in front of Jewish-owned stores, trying to keep the public from entering. Some violence occurred. The Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger reported: 'At Annaberg in Saxony, each patron leaving a Jewish store was marked in the face by Nazis with a stamp reading "We traitors bought from Jews."¹ However, the action was discontinued after one day; it had by no means produced the desired results in all locations.

"One week later, it was legally decreed that Jewish public servants must retire. With this measure, too, Hitler had to accept a limitation: Hindenberg insisted that Jewish veterans and near relatives of Jews killed in the war be exempted from the law. Some Nazis who had fallen for the propaganda lie that Jews were 'cowards' now learned better, as it became known that during the World War 96,000 Jews had fought on the German side and 12,000 had been killed.

¹"In the months that followed, nearly all Jewish students were ejected from the universities. Goebbels ordered the removal of Jews from German cultural life. In this area, they had played a major role for over a hundred years, contributing decisively to the world-wide prestige of German culture. Jewish performers were no longer allowed to make appearances, works of Jewish composers and dramatists could not be performed. Books of Jewish authors were banned; earlier, in May, many books had been destroyed in bonfires.

"Some Germans who considered themselves influential opposed these measures; yet a gulf gradually opened up between many non-Jews and their Jewish fellow humans. Friendship broke up, neighbors no longer told each other 'good morning,' Jewish children were harassed. This was partly a result of surveillance, extending into private life, by Nazi party functionaries, whose censure many people wanted to avoid; partly it was the effect of a propaganda barrage. Anti-Semitic slogans now appeared in every last village, on posters

and banners; display boxes with crude propaganda publications were everywhere. Jews were charged with the responsibility for any difficulty in the country or in foreign relations; they were the scapegoats.

"Many concentration camp inmates were Jews. They suffered even more than the other prisoners. Many a private disagreement with a party member ended in the arrest of a Jew. Before the law and before government agencies Jews were also disadvantaged. For the time being, they were allowed to remain active in business; to exclude them would have aggravated the prevailing economic difficulties. From all other occupations they were now barred.

"In 1935, the Nuremberg Laws officially proclaimed the denial of Jews' rights. From that point on they no longer were 'citizens' but merely 'nationals.' Jewish veterans now had to resign from all public offices. Marriage and sex relations between Jews and non-Jews were forbidden; violations of this law were prosecuted as 'miscegenation' and punished by jail sentences, later by death.

"The 'Aryan provision' of the law defined who was to count as a Jew: A Jew was a person three or four of whose grandparents had belonged to the Jewish religious community; in some cases, a 'mixed breed' having two Jewish grandparents was also considered a Jew. Obviously, 'race membership' could not be proved, since there is no such thing in science as 'race' in the Nazi sense of the term; hence ancestral religion was used as a test. A baptismal certificate of one of the [otherwise] despised Christian churches was considered evidence of 'pure descent.'

Pictures in MZ show the boycott of a Jewish business by the SA, and humiliation of Jewish schoolchildren.

UW has less detail. It refers to the Nuremberg Laws and the enforced wearing

of the Jewish star; three anti-Semitic posters serve as illustrations.

MZ features only a succinct description (vol. IV, p. 89f.):

"As early as April 1, 1933, the Nazis' senseless Jew-hatred led to a 'dress rehearsal' of racial persecution, which evoked abhorrence throughout the world.

"In 1935, the inhuman 'Nuremberg Laws' were promulgated. German Jews were legally declared second-class citizens, and in the period that followed were banned from one occupation after another. Anyone who merely maintained contact with Jewish friends fell under suspicion. 'Aryans' (i.e., non-Jews) were not allowed to marry Jews. Whoever was married to a Jew could (and was expected to) leave him."

On the other hand, MZ seeks, through careful selection of source material, to induce identification and empathy in the reader. Thus, the text asks, "Aren't Jews human?" and goes on to quote Der Stürmer, January 1935:

"Gauleiter Streicher has told us so much about the Jews that we really hate them. In school, we wrote an essay on 'The Jews Are Our Misfortune.'... Unfortunately, many people still say: 'Jews, too, are God's creatures, so you must respect them.' But we say: 'Vermin are animals, too, and yet we destroy them!'"

The quotation is followed by an assignment question: "Do you suppose this schoolgirl knew many Jews? Why does she 'hate' them?"

A description more memorable than a mere textbook passage would be presented (vol. IV, p. 88)--an extract from the memoirs of French Ambassador André François-Poncet about events in April 1933:

"On the scheduled day, SA units roam through the entire city, stop Jews and beat them up. They pile into the busiest cafés and restaurants on the Kurfürstendamm and chase out the Jewish patrons with blows... [SA troops]

take positions at store entrances, paste stickers on the windows reading 'Jewish business--no Germans buy here!' and keep people from entering.

Inside the stores, the proprietors are beaten to a pulp; their merchandise is plundered, and money is extorted from them by threats of additional blows. This goes on all day."

RV also mentions the boycott, the Nuremberg Laws and anti-Semitic propaganda. It contains a picture, mentioned earlier, of a classroom, and a drawing from an anti-Semitic first reader (vol. IV, p. 137). However, in representing the persecution of Jews solely as a "morbid obsession" on Hitler's part, dating back to the days of his youth in Vienna, the text blocks rather than opens the path to historical understanding.

Similarly, only a brief passage appears in GW (vol. III, p. 111), describing the Nuremberg Laws and the way the so-called Aryanization of businesses enriched certain persons. The same wording appears in SZ (vol. IV, p. 111). More detail is given in GG (vol. IV, pp. 176ff.); there is a picture of the boycott, as well as a not very informative one of an anti-Semitic demonstration in the [Berlin] Sports Palace.

GU deals appropriately with the subject (vol. IV, pp. 108f.), though not nearly in as much detail as does ZM.

(b) In nearly all the texts examined, the events of November 1938 play a conspicuous role, presumably because this was the first time the terror manifested itself for all to see without any trace of restraint.

ZM is again particularly detailed, recounting the mounting discrimination with its various steps (vol. IV, pp. 106f.):

"In 1938, persecution intensified; a new wave of arrests brought many Jews to the camps. A young Jew whose parents had been ordered out of the country took revenge by shooting and killing a German diplomat in Paris. This unfortunate deed came in handy for the Nazis.

"On November 9, Goebbels delivered an anti-Semitic tirade in Munich, giving the starting signal for the Crystal Night. For the first time since 1934, the SA was given a free hand. Everywhere in the country, synagogues-- Jewish houses of worship--went up in flames; Jewish cemeteries were devastated; Jewish businesses and, in many cases, Jewish homes were destroyed and sometimes plundered. Wherever during that night any of the terrified Jews were encountered, they were humiliated or manhandled; some 20,000 were taken to concentration camps. Only a very small part of the German people took part in these excesses; but the majority acquiesced in the events, with shudders or with shoulder shrugging. Few gave any active help to their Jewish fellow beings.

"Responding to indignation abroad, Goebbels claimed that 'popular rage' had erupted. As usual, the 'Minister for Propaganda' was lying. The Nazi party court, which was assigned to investigate the murders in lieu of the regular courts, declared: 'The public, down to the last individual, knows that political actions like that of November 9 are organized and conducted by the Party, whether or not the fact is acknowledged.'

"Oppression continued to increase. The Jews, even those who carried insurance, had to make good for all the damage and on top of it had to pay a 'penalty' of one billion reichsmarks. They now were also eliminated from the economy, most of their businesses having been previously 'Aryanized,' i.e., offered for sale under duress--a process through which some Nazis in the role of buyers grew rich. Jews were forbidden to visit certain places, such as beaches and swimming pools; they were not allowed to have drivers' licenses; they must not attend cultural events. They were forced to sell any gold, precious stones or works of art, lost the legal protection provided for tenants, and their children could no longer attend the public schools. Now flight en masse began. As late as 1938-39, about 150,000 German Jews left the Reich.

Those who stayed behind were destined for a horrible fate."

p. 38

A picture shows a burning synagogue.

FG prints only a brief excerpt from an SA order and provides greatly compressed information in its descriptive portion (vol. IV, p. 61):

"In 1938, in Paris, a Jew murdered the Councillor of the German Embassy in order to bring to the attention of the world that his parents had just been expelled from Germany to Poland but had not been admitted there. The Nazi party responded with organized acts of revenge: During the so-called Crystal Night of November 9-10, SA men and Nazi party members set 600 Jewish houses of worship on fire and demolished Jewish businesses and homes. According to the highest Nazi party court, 91 killings were recorded; damage came to several billion reichsmarks. More than 26,000 Jews were arrested and taken to concentration camps. Out of their property and that of other Jewish fellow citizens, a 'penalty' of one billion reichsmarks was levied. Jews were no longer allowed to attend theaters, concerts, museums, etc.; they were compelled to wear a 'Jewish star,' and a letter J was stamped in their passports."

MZ offers some Goebbels quotations, an SA order, a brief narrative text and a picture of a desecrated synagogue (vol. IV, p. 90).

UW has an inadequate reference to the events (vol. IV, p. 98):

"In 1938, a German diplomat was murdered in Paris, whereupon SA members, in the course of the so-called Crystal Night, desecrated synagogues and cemeteries."

RV also has only one sentence (vol. IV, p. 138).

GG describes the events in detail and places them in context (vol. IV, p. 178f.):

"The Year 1938. The year 1938 first brought to a climax the persecution of Jews and the nullification of their rights. Persecution, until then kept within certain boundaries, now grew open and brutal. A great wave of ar-

rests in June was intended to spur Jewish emigration, which until then had proceeded hesitatingly. During the fall, more than 15,000 Jews of Polish nationality were moved to the Polish frontier; at first they were not accepted by Poland, and for a time roamed the no-man's land between the borders. In Paris, the 17-year-old son of one couple in this situation shot a German diplomat, lethally wounding him. This assassination, an act of desperation by a juvenile, was used as a pretext for a big Jewish pogrom in the night of November 9-10, 1938.

p.39 "Goebbels gave the starting signal with a speech in Munich. Throughout the country, SA men and party members, in civilian clothes, set synagogues and Jewish schools on fire, demolished and plundered Jewish businesses and homes, manhandled many Jews and killed at least 36. Approximately 20,000 Jews were arrested and taken to concentration camps. The damage of the Crystal Night in broken glass alone is reported to have amounted to 10 million reichsmarks; the total damage was estimated at several hundred million.

"The violence was followed by government-sponsored plundering of the Jews and their total displacement from economic life and the society.

"As a 'penalty for the Paris ambush,' the German Jews had to pay a billion reichsmarks; they also had to bear the expense of repairing the damage. They were compelled to put their securities in custody, to sell any jewelry and objects of art, and to pay increased taxes. They lost their licenses as pharmacists, dentists and veterinarians, as well as permission to own or drive motor vehicles. They were not allowed to appear in markets or trade fairs, not to be active as store owners, stockbrokers, independent merchants or managers of industrial enterprises. All Jewish businesses were now expropriated through forced 'Aryanization.' Finally, Jews were forbidden to

use public transportation and to visit bathing places, theaters, concerts, movie houses, parks and the 'German forests.'

"With these actions, Germany not only nullified the emancipation of Jews, but abrogated the coexistence between Germans and Jews, after more than a thousand years."

Here again a picture of a destroyed synagogue appears.

The identical illustration is shown in GW, which generally offers about the same information (vol. IV, p. 111) as FG. SZ has no picture but features the same text (vol. IV, p. 108) as its companion work, GW.

The picture of the interior of a desecrated synagogue, featured in MZ, also appears in GU. The descriptive portion (vol. IV, p. 108) states, more accurately than does UW:

"A Polish Jew had lethally wounded a German embassy official. On November 9, Goebbels called on the top echelons of the NSDAP for violent measures."

With this statement any appearance of spontaneity is avoided and the responsibility is clearly placed. Information about the extent of the damage and the subsequent oppressive measures follows.

p. 40 (c) The most voluminous treatment in the works examined is properly devoted to the genocide of the Jews.

MZ has a picture from the Warsaw ghetto; another from Auschwitz, and a facsimile of the report on the completed destruction of the Warsaw ghetto, dated May 16, 1943, as well as an extract from the so-called Wannsee minutes! The descriptive passage states (vol. IV, p. 139):

*The Murder of the European Jews

"Undisturbed by the outside world and in secret from most Germans, Hitler

was able to carry out his final solution of the Jewish problem in the wide-open spaces of the East. In the occupied territories of Europe, especially in the East, several million Jews had come under German power. All Jewish inhabitants had to wear a yellow star conspicuously on their clothing. They were subjected to the most arduous forced labor; many were confined in large 'ghettos,' fenced-in and patrolled living areas, where they usually were close to death from starvation. In Poland and the Soviet Union the first mass killings occurred soon after cities and towns were occupied, carried out by SS and police commandos with native auxiliaries.

"The situation of Jews in Germany also continued to deteriorate after the war began. Beginning in 1940, they were all deported to the East, where nearly all of them later fell victims to the extermination programs. By the middle of 1943, only a few thousand were still living in Germany. The deportations did not remain hidden from the German population. A very few Germans, risking their lives, hid Jewish friends; they had an inkling of the fate that--under the guise of 'resettlement'--awaited the Jews in the East.

"On January 20, 1942, at a meeting of SS leaders and high-ranking officials of government ministries known as the 'Wannsee Conference,' the measures for the 'final solution' of the 'Jewish problem' were decided upon.

"To receive the deportees, extermination camps were prepared in Polish territory: Auschwitz, Treblinka, Belzec and others. Late in March 1942 the first transports arrived in Auschwitz: from Paris, from Slovakia, later from Holland, Belgium, the other occupied countries and Germany proper. In June the gassings began in the camps. In 1943 the ghettos were dissolved and their inhabitants taken to the extermination camps. In a desperate struggle, the last Jews in Warsaw defended themselves to the bitter end against deportation. The murders went on until the fall of 1944, when the camps had to

be abandoned in the face of the advancing Red Army. The surviving Jews were now moved back to concentration camps within the Reich. Such camps had been growing in number from month to month; they were already overcrowded with German and foreign inmates. Only a small portion of the prisoners survived the merciless forced labor in these places and escaped death from hunger or epidemics. When the camps were opened up by Allied troops in 1945, they presented a picture of unimaginable horror. The number of the Jewish victims of Nazism is estimated at more than five million."

p.41

PG has a picture of "selections" at Auschwitz, a map of concentration camps, a picture from one of the camps, an extract from the Wannsee minutes and an extended quotation from the memoirs of the commandant of Auschwitz. The descriptive passage is brief, but supplies the essential facts (vol. IV, p. 61):

"At the beginning of the war, 'commandos' of the SS took on the job of seizing, deporting and shooting Jews in parts of Europe occupied by German troops. Following the 1942 Wannsee Conference, a perfectly organized murder apparatus, in carefully kept secrecy, channeled the Jews from all occupied countries into extermination camps. The murder of people who fell victims to this 'final solution of the Jewish question' or to earlier measures is estimated to have been between five and six million."

UW prints a concentration camp picture. The descriptive passage contains too little information (vol. IV, p. 94):

"During the war, nearly all the Jews of Germany and the occupied countries were taken to the concentration camps, and most of them were cruelly killed there. This organized mass murder has remained a dark, admonitory chapter in German history. Because of it we still frequently encounter distrust among foreign countries."

The emphasis on foreign "distrust" in this context is inappropriate and embarrassing.

MZ again seeks to stimulate identification and human empathy through the use of documents. Featured are extracts from the diary of Anne Frank and the writings of David Rubinowicz; quotations from Gerhard Schönberner's The Yellow Star and Ernst Schnabel's Power Without Morals; and an extended passage from the recollections of a Hungarian who was an inmate of Auschwitz. The pictures illustrate the evacuation of the Warsaw Ghetto and the "selections" at Auschwitz. MZ also refers to the annihilation of the gypsies.

RV features two pictures: of the "selections" at Auschwitz, and of a starved camp inmate. The descriptive portion clearly conveys the authors' revulsion (vol. IV, p. 138):

"After Hitler, in 1939, unleashed a new world war, and large parts of Europe had been conquered, there began the most horrible thing ever perpetrated in the name of Germany.

"The Jews were herded together and deported to Poland to be 'exterminated.' The SS had set up regular 'death factories,' the biggest of them near the village of Auschwitz.

"What happened at Auschwitz and elsewhere day after day is something none of us will ever really comprehend. Human beings were put to death like rats or vermin, with cold, diabolical cruelty.

"As well as the Jews, other smaller groups also suffered this fate. Most of Europe's gypsies perished in this way, as did hundreds of thousands of Poles.

"All this took place in utter secrecy in remote regions. The guard units were obligated to maintain strictest silence; only very rarely did a victim escape who might have told of this annihilation machine. What information

did seep through from time to time seemed so unimaginably cruel that no one would believe it. Only toward the end of the war did these events become known in all their inhuman cruelty.

"Figures concerning the annihilation of Jews in Germany and Europe:

"In 1933, Germany had about 540,000 Jewish citizens. Of these, 317,000 escaped annihilation by emigrating; 135,000 were deported to the extermination camps in the East and killed there.

"In 1939 there were about 9.5 million Jews in Europe. Fewer than 4 million survived the war. Nearly 6 million had been killed."

GW shows a picture of "selections" in Auschwitz and one of the evacuation of the Warsaw ghetto. There is an extract from the Wannsee minutes and Rudolf Hoess' report on the gassing method used at Auschwitz. This textbook states (vol. IV, p. 158):

"In Auschwitz alone, more than 2 million Jews were killed; in all, between 5 and 6 million human beings fell victim to this genocide."

An assignment likely to be productive is set (vol. IV, p. 161):

"Discuss in class the Wannsee minutes, Hoess' testimony about Auschwitz and the question who shares the guilt. (In the sources, please note the choice of words.)"

p. 43 Again, a virtually identical passage occurs in SZ (vol. IV, pp. 118ff.), but it has one additional picture showing an old Jew having his beard singed off. It also contains a map of concentration camps (vol. IV, p. 105); this map is found again in GG (vol. IV, p. 191), which also features the same photos. The descriptive passage is quite voluminous (vol. IV, pp. 120ff.).

"The 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question.' The murder of sick and aged persons could be prevented to some extent, since it was carried out right

in Germany. Outside the Reich, under cover of military secrecy, beyond the sight and the protests of the German population, Hitler commenced the extermination of the Jews, which he had repeatedly threatened in public.

"As early as the time of the Polish campaign, there had been shootings of Jews by SS, SA and 'commando' units. In June 1941, four 'commandos' formed by the Reich Security Head Office (cf. p. 218), totaling 3,000 men, moved into Russia with orders to 'liquidate' all Communist commissars, Jews and gypsies. Directly behind the battlefield they lured or rounded up their victims and shot them. Also killed in these annihilation actions were 'racially inferior' prisoners of war (such as Mongolians). In cold, matter-of-fact language, the 'commandos' kept reporting new figures from 'successful actions'--totaling 480,000 dead by January 1942.

"At the end of July 1941, Heydrich (cf. p. 174) was ordered by Göring 'to undertake all needed preparations...for a comprehensive solution of the Jewish question in the German-influenced regions of Europe.' Soon Jews were compelled to wear the 'Star of David' in public--a six-pointed star of yellow fabric, inscribed 'Jew' in black letters. Homes of Jews were also marked. A decree issued in November 1941 ordered confiscation of Jewish property.

"In the fall of 1941, deportations to Poland began. Staffs of cold-blooded 'murder bureaucrats' rounded up the victims in all countries under German power, taking them by freight trains or trucks into large camps. A great many Jews perished right there as a result of hunger, forced labor or disease. Countless others were systematically murdered. Mass shootings were now complemented by faster and less conspicuous mass

gassings with diesel exhaust or 'Cyclone B' (prussic acid), carried out in camps such as Belzec, Treblinka and Majdanek. The biggest annihilation facility was in Auschwitz. From 1942 on the death factories worked at top speed.

p.44

"Nearly every day, columns of naked people, among them mothers carrying infants in their arms, entered the annihilation chambers, which were disguised as shower rooms. After the doors closed behind them, lethal gas streamed in through shower heads in the ceiling or through metal pipes. Twenty-five minutes later, electric pumps would pump out the poisonous vapor. Elevators and lorries transported the dead to cremation ovens; mills ground down the remaining bones; trucks dumped the remains into pits. The clothes and eyeglasses of the murdered, as well as dental gold and women's hair, was taken for 'recycling.'

"This murder by the millions was carried out under military-style planning, with bureaucratic precision, through factory techniques. The rough jobs were done by Ukrainians, Poles, Lithuanians and Jewish forced laborers, themselves threatened with death. Administrative and supervisory personnel, technicians and physicians were supplied by the SS. Only in isolated cases were there men diabolical tormentors; most were respectable fathers of families, proper and dutiful citizens in their private lives, who made themselves believe that their sordid 'work' was a service to the nation and the country.

"Jewish Resistance. By and large, the Jews offered no resistance, just as they had for 1,800 years patiently borne all persecutions. As exception was the Warsaw ghetto rebellion in 1943.

"More than half the Jews concentrated in Warsaw had already been taken to the extermination camps when small resistance groups among those

remaining decided to fight for their lives. With smuggled weapons, taking advantage of numerous air raid shelters in German-run factories, they battled for five weeks with the courage of desperation against a mixed force of police and mercenaries, until their strength flagged. Himmler had the ghetto leveled to the ground and the survivors taken to the death camps. Only a few escaped.

"The Warsaw ghetto rebellion marks a turning point in the history of the Jewish people. For the first time since Antiquity they had risen to fight against their fate, not meekly accepted it."

A briefer but memorable and informative formulation is found in GU (vol. IV, pp. 130f.), which also has a picture of the evacuation of the ghetto:

"The 'Final Solution' of the Jewish Question. Right after the start of the war in Poland, Hitler initiated the program to annihilate the Jews. Many of them met their deaths through excessive labor, maltreatment, hunger and epidemics. When the war against Russia broke out, five 'commandos' carried out mass shootings of Jews and gypsies. Unimaginable scenes took place, and repeatedly protests resulted. For this reason, the horrendous enterprise was kept secret from the German people as much as possible. Large extermination camps were created, where millions of Jewish men, women and children were killed. The carrying-out of the program was assigned to Heydrich. In January 1942, at a conference at the Wannsee, he outlined his plan:

p.45
'''In large columns, with the sexes separated, Jews capable of labor will be moved into these territories (in the East), engaged in building roads. In this process a large part will no doubt disappear through natural diminution. The remainder in each case, being undoubtedly the most capable

of resistance, will have to be appropriately dealt with, since this group represents a natural selection and must be considered the germ cell of a Jewish renewal in the event of release. In the course of the practical implementation of the Final Solution, Europe will be combed through from West to East.'

"The work of annihilation was soon being carried out in great gas chambers, especially in Auschwitz. Many Jews from occupied territories were murdered there. An 'SS Main Economic and Administrative Office' collected the victims' clothing by the ton, as well as eyeglasses, gold teeth and women's hair and 'recycled' them. In the spring of 1943, the last Jews in Warsaw for weeks grimly resisted their extermination. The true number of the victims cannot be accurately determined. Early in 1946 the World Jewish Council set it at 5,721,800; for this reason, the number of six million has often been cited. A later calculation, also from Jewish sources, arrived at 4.2 to 4.6 million, among them about 3.8 million from Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union. Even if further research were to lead to different figures, the overall picture would change little. What was planned was the annihilation of all Jews, regardless of age or sex; Heydrich's list specified 'more than 11 million.'"

p.46 9. [Jewish Contributions to German Culture]

An incalculable shortcoming is found in the texts examined as regards the Jewish contribution to German culture. This topic would have been particularly suitable for conveying positive aspects and attitudes, and to provide a glimmering of the potential that was blocked off by the victory of anti-Semitism.

To forego discussion of this theme and the problems of assimilation that are closely linked with it means to risk the hazard that Jews will be conceived of as somehow alien. Only ZM offers a somewhat detailed passage (vol. IV, pp.105f.).

"Through the emigration of Jews, German science and culture suffered a loss that could not be made good, especially as many leading figures had already been lost in 1933 by disappearing into concentration camps as opponents of the dictatorship, or by leaving the Reich. Among the Jewish emigrants were individuals whose research achievements caused German science to be envied the world over, such as Albert Einstein, Max Born, Fritz Haber, Siegmund Freud, Lise Meitner; also poets, writers and artists like Martin Buber, Alfred Döblin, Franz Werfel, Stefan Zweig, Bruno Walter, Max Reinhardt, Ernst Deutsch, Elisabeth Bergner.

"After his emigration to the U.S. in 1933, Max Reinhardt wrote to the Hitler Government: 'Obviously, it is not an easy decision for me to sever definitively my connection with the German Theater. With this possession I lose not only the fruits of 37 years of activity; I also lose the soil which I have cultivated for a lifetime, and on which I myself grew up. I lose my homeland. What this means, I do not have to tell those who prize the idea of a homeland above all else...'"

ZM also contains photos of Einstein and the famous orchestral conductor, Bruno Walter.

GW and SZ merely refer to the emigration, without drawing a distinction between Jews and non-Jews.

GG (vol. IV, p. 33) features pictures of Siegmund Freud and Albert Einstein, with a brief caption.

MZ (vol. IV, p. 228) lists German Nobel Prize winners of Jewish background.

The rest of the books have nothing, or only uninformative phrases, as in the case of GU (vol. IV, p. 109):

"Beginning in 1933, about one-half of German Jews left their homeland, among them many leading artists and scientists."

10. [Genesis and History of Israel]

In contrast, Israel is very extensively dealt with--at any rate in comparison to the space devoted, for example, to the new Third World states.

ZM features three maps, one picture and about 2 1/2 pages of descriptive matter. On the founding of Israel, it states (vol. IV, pp. 245f.):

"After the war, Great Britain had announced that she wanted to give up her mandate over Palestine. The conflicts between Arabs and Jews, which had been smoldering in the country for years, thereupon intensified. The UN entered the fray and decided to divide Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. In May 1948 the British left the country, and simultaneously the State of Israel was founded. Thus the Jewish people had once more attained statehood, for the first time in nearly 2,000 years.

"The Arabs, who did not approve of the partition of the country, immediately attacked the new state; the Israelis mounted counterattacks. Though outnumbered by the Arabs, the Israelis were able to extend their territory. In March 1949 an armistice was arranged through the UN.

"The boundaries of Israel were pushed far southward, through the Negev desert to the Gulf of Aqaba, and eastward to Jerusalem; that city was divided between Israel and Jordan. During the fighting, 600,000 Arabs had left Israeli territory, on the advice of the Arab governments.

These refugees, most of whom, with their numerous progeny, still live in camps in the neighboring countries, have remained a focus of unrest to this day. Because of them, a conflict of civil-war proportions broke out in Lebanon in 1976.

"Since the Arab states did not recognize Israel, the new state was, and remains, forced to be ready for self-defense. The Arabs threatened 'to throw the Israelis into the sea,' to do away with the state of Israel.

As a result of immigration, Israel's population has more than doubled since 1948, increasing to 3.5 million. The absorption of the immigrants was not easy, since they came from greatly varied cultures. Through great irrigation projects, desert areas have been made arable; with the help of foreign subsidies, industrialization has been rapidly pushed forward. As a result, the country's economic superiority over its neighbor states has steadily grown.

p. 48

"In a Restitution Agreement, the Federal Republic of Germany obligated itself to give Israel financial aid until 1965. In this context, Israel was viewed as the heir of those Jews whose property went to the Nazi state when they were murdered--which, however, does not mean that the moral guilt has been atoned for. Diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel were established in 1965."

Extended passages follow on the Suez crisis of 1956, the Six-Day War of 1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973.

FG incorporates the subject of Israel into a discussion of Middle East problems, juxtaposing Arab and Israeli sources--for example, an utterance by a P.L.O. spokesman and a statement by General Sharon, or the words of the founder of an Israeli defense settlement in the Golan and an interview with King Hussein. Among other things, the book features passages about the UN resolution of 1947; a description of developments from the First World War to the end of the British mandate in Palestine; statistics on the Jewish and Arab population, their educational status and incomes; the number of refugees according to UN statistics, and a graph of armaments supplied to both sides. There are quotations from Theodor Herzl and from the Israeli Declaration of Independence of 1948, as well as from the Palestinian Manifesto of 1964. Also shown are pictures of the Wailing Wall and of cotton farming in Israel. On the reasons for the founding of Israel, the book states, in part (vol. IV, p. 249):

"During the first millennium B.C., the Jews of Palestine maintained one or several sovereign states over an extended period. In 70 A.D., after the great rebellion against the Roman occupation, Titus, the son of Emperor Vespasian, had Jerusalem and the Temple destroyed. The Jewish people was for the most part scattered through the lands of the earth (see vol. II, p. 111). In the Diaspora, coherence among the Jews was preserved through the strict religious rules and through the certainty that some day the Messiah would come and lead them back to Israel.

"In the course of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, the Jews in Europe were offered equal rights. In return, they were expected to assimilate themselves unreservedly to the 'host nations,' except in the matter of religion--i.e., the religious and the national elements of Judaism were to be separated. The majority of European Jews accepted this bargain. But under the prevailing nationalism and anti-Semitism, the 'host nations' nevertheless continued to regard them as aliens or even enemies. Thus toward the end of the 19th century many Jews gradually became susceptible to the idea of Zionism and the restoration of a national Jewish state, especially after bloody persecutions took place in Southern Russia about the turn of the century."

The chapter entitled "Middle East Conflict" demonstrates that a text relying mainly on source material--provided sufficient space is allowed--can be a great deal more differentiated, problem-oriented and stimulating than one that favors narrative treatment.

UW is much briefer (vol. IV, p. 171):

"Between 1919 and 1947, 402,000 Jews from all over the world had immigrated to Palestine. In 1948, Ben Gurion proclaimed the State of Israel. A war ensued between the Israelis and the Arab Palestinians, who feared for their existence. They were supported by Egypt. The borders of the

State of Israel were drawn where the troops had stopped at the time of the armistice. About 900,000 Palestinians left their homes in Israeli territory.

"In 1956 and again in the 1967 'Six-Day War,' Israel defeated Egypt, Jordan and Syria. The Arabs, however, rearmed with Soviet aid. Along Israel's borders, localized conflicts kept erupting.

"In 1973 war broke out again. Israel scored some successes but sustained heavy losses. Through the good offices of U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger, with Soviet approval, an armistice was concluded in 1974.

"The course of the wars showed how much local conflicts were influenced by the interests of the superpowers: the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. The U.S.S.R. needs the Suez Canal and the good will of the Arab states for its naval bases in the Mediterranean and the connecting sea lanes into the Indian Ocean. Hence it had to support the Arabs' struggle against Israel.

"However, the events also demonstrated how much a small state may rely for its security on its own strength. Political tensions continue. Israel's defense expenditures devour nine-tenths of its tax revenue.

"The Palestinians, who had lost their homes and had not been admitted by the neighboring Arab countries, continued to engage the awareness of the world. In this connection, the 'commandos' did not shrink from terrorist actions in all parts of the world, such as murder and plane hijackings."

p.50 Of interest are two pictures, one of an old Jewish woman wearing the Star of David, the other showing an Israeli military parade, with a caption that reads:

"Under Hitler, Jews were identified by a Star of David inscribed 'Jew.'

Today this star, an old Jewish religious symbol, is found on the flags of the new State of Israel, which offers a refuge to Jews from all over the world."

A wholly different approach to the subject is taken by RV. On a page and a half, this text attempts to give a compressed Jewish history:

"For more than a thousand years during Antiquity, a small Jewish state had existed in western Asia. Back in the eighth century B.C., a series of holy men, who called themselves prophets, had appeared among this nation. They turned the Jewish state into a 'state of God' and subjected all phases of life to the commandments of their faith.

"The writings of these prophets are part of our Bible; together with the Pentateuch, they constitute the chief contents of the Old Testament. On this basis, succeeding the prophets and completing their work, Jesus of Nazareth became the founder of our Christian religion; his birth constitutes the turning point of our historical chronology.

"Only with difficulty could the small Jewish state hold its own amid the struggles of neighboring great powers. In 70 A.D., under the alien rule of the Romans, the existence of the state came to an end with the destruction of Jerusalem. From that time on, the Jews lived dispersed throughout the world. In 634, their homeland was conquered by the Mohammedan Arabs. Thus, for approximately 1,300 years, the Holy Land became Arab territory.

"Despite their worldwide dispersion, the Jews throughout the centuries clung to the customs and the faith of their fathers. In their new homelands they often suffered persecution and bloody oppression: in Spain, in the 'Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation,' in France, England, Poland and Russia. They suffered severely in the age of the medieval

Crusades. But the most frightful persecution of the Jews, leading almost to their extinction, was that conducted by Hitler in the years from 1933 to 1945.

"Under the impression of the persecution and annihilation of the Jews by Nazism, the UN decided in 1947 to give the Jewish people, at last, the new homeland that had been promised to them thirty years earlier.

"Back in 1917, during the struggles of the First World War, the British Foreign Minister, Balfour, had assured them of a new home in the ancient Jewish land of Palestine. In 1918, British troops occupied Palestine, which until then had belonged to the Turkish Empire, and after peace was concluded, the League of Nations assigned the supervision (the 'Mandate') over the country to Great Britain. From all over the world, Jews now streamed to the homeland they had left nearly 2,000 years earlier.

p.51
"However, this Jewish immigration met with vigorous resistance by the Arabs, who now felt displaced in turn. Each national group, Jews and Arabs, claimed Palestine as its land, belonging exclusively to itself.

"The quarrel dragged on--until 1947, when the UN decided to partition Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs.

"On May 14, 1948, the founding of the new Jewish State of Israel was solemnly announced; at the same time the British Mandate forces withdrew. But on the very next day, troops of seven neighboring Arab states fell upon Israel from all sides. The citizens of the new state successfully defended themselves. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs left their homes during this war, gathering in refugee camps in the adjoining Arab countries.

"The initial fighting ended with an armistice. The State of Israel now began systematically to build itself up. Desert land was cultivated, new settlements were set up, and a new homeland was established for the returnees, who were streaming in in ever growing numbers."

"It was a difficult job of building, for the threat of the Arab neighbor states was ever present. War has repeatedly broken out in the years since: in 1956 (the Suez Crisis), and again in 1967 (the June War) and 1973 (the Yom Kippur War). In addition, radical Arab terrorists constantly fought the Jews with all available means. One of their actions was an attack on the Israeli participants at the 1972 Olympic Games.

"The bloody happening at Munich has set many Germans thinking again about the relationship of Germans and Jews today."

MZ offers a brief summary of the founding of Israel, with one picture (vol. IV, p. 174).

GW has the following passage (vol. IV, pp. 252f.)

"Back in 1896, Theodor Herzl, a journalist, in a book entitled 'The Jewish State,' demanded the creation of a separate state which was to enable Jews to live 'as a nation like all other nations.' A worldwide organization was soon promoting the 'return to Zion,' and by 1914, 40,000 Jewish settlers had gone to Palestine. During the First World War, England promised national independence to both Jews and Arabs; but after the war, the Middle East came under British and French mandates."

"While the Nazis were persecuting the Jews in Europe, the British as the Mandate power tried to contain the Jewish immigration into Palestine. Illegal immigration attempts were the results. In 1947, weary of the

p.52

struggle, England finally left the solution of the Palestine problem in the hands of the UN, and the UN General Assembly, by way of a compromise, decided on partition of the country between Jews and Arabs. However, the Arabs did not accept the partition plan. When the British mandate expired in May 1948, the new State of Israel, founded on May 14, 1948, immediately had to defend itself against the armies of the Arab neighbor states. Not until 1949 could the UN arrange an armistice. Thanks to its military successes, Israel was holding more territory than it was to have under the original partition plan. However, the exact boundaries remained to be settled in a peace treaty."

The subsequent course of the Middle East conflict is described. The text then continues:

"With a border 1,200km long, and with a very vulnerable territory, Israel now found itself subjected by the Arab world to a continuous state of siege. As a result of immigration, its population grew fast. Between 1948 and 1951, the number of Jewish inhabitants grew from 650,000 to more than 1.3 million; by 1971 it had reached 3 million. This posed new problems for the country: Jews from the Arab countries, used to pre-industrial conditions, were arriving. It took great efforts in the education system to secure the creation of a unified nation."

The book also has a picture of Israeli soldiers and a map.

SZ (vol. IV, pp. 208ff.) describes the facts in the same way.

A similar approach is taken by GG (vol. IV, pp. 292ff.).

GU offers the following details (vol. IV, pp. 70f.):

"Zionism. Since Emancipation, Jews largely tended to let themselves be absorbed into their host nations. Often, however, they met with resistance

and hostility. Anti-Semitic movements developed in many countries. In Russia, severe persecutions (pogroms) occurred from 1881 on, in which thousands of Jews were killed. For this reason, Theodor Herzl, a Jewish journalist in Vienna, sought to gather the Jews as a nation into a state of their own. This Jewish national movement called itself Zionism, after the hill Zion in Jerusalem. The first Zionist World Congress, held in Basel in 1897, called for 'creation of a legally secured homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine.' Many Jews rejected Zionism; others supported it with money.

"By 1914, the number of Jews in Palestine had risen to 85,000. They developed a socialist type of settlement, the kibbutz, where the soil, the buildings and the profit from shared labor belonged to all. No wages and

p.53

no dividends were paid; the necessities of life and the education of children were communally provided. Much waste land was made arable. During the First World War, British Foreign Minister Balfour promised the Jews a 'national home in Palestine,' though with the qualification that it was not to impair 'the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities.' Under the British mandate, hundreds of thousands of Jews immigrated. They reclaimed additional lands from the desert and built numerous factories. Between Arabs and Jews, strong tensions developed. Out of concern for the Arab world, the Britons in 1939 rigorously restricted Jewish immigration; at the same time, growing crowds of refugees came from Europe, where Nazism persecuted the Jews and eventually tried to exterminate them. After 1945, too, great misery befell many of those who had just escaped annihilation and were now refused admission to their longed-for goal. They were interned on camps in Cyprus. However, many managed to enter illegally; by the end of 1947, 630,000 Jews lived in Palestine alongside 1.1 million Arabs."

Elsewhere (vol. IV, p. 164) the text states:

"The independence of Israel was proclaimed by Ben Gurion in May 1948, a few hours before the British mandate expired. The new state assured all its inhabitants of 'full social and political equality' and 'full freedom of conscience,' and granted Jews everywhere in the world the right to immigrate. The Arab neighbors immediately deployed their armies against the new state. Israel was able to hold its own, however, and in the armistice (1949) obtained more territory than the UN's partition plan had envisioned. The boundary was highly unsatisfactory, cutting through Jerusalem. Border incidents occurred again and again. The Arab neighbors insisted that Israel disappear and in 1967 mobilized their armies. In the war that ensued, Israel again defeated its enemies.

"Some 200,000 Arabs had remained in Israel in 1949; between 1948 and 1951, hundreds of thousands of Jews immigrated. Most of them came from the Eastern bloc or the Arab states. In 1965 some 2.2 million Jews lived in Israel (of a world total of about 12.3 million). They or their parents hail from nearly 80 different countries, and they differ greatly in language and education, attitudes and customs. All of them first had to learn the language of the country, neo-Hebrew (Ivrit); a great many also had to learn new occupations.

"The job of construction progressed fast. In the countryside, the percentage of kibbutzim among the total number of settlements grew smaller, but all land continues to belong to the state. Industry is mostly controlled by the labor federation (Histadrut). Because of this predominantly socialist structure, little foreign capital flows in from abroad. There is a considerable foreign trade deficit. For this reason, payments by the Federal Republic of Germany proved a valuable form of aid. Subsidies by the U.S.

and donations by Jews in other countries also helped."

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As for illustrations, GU has a picture of kibbutz guards in 1904 and
a view of a kibbutz.

VIII

In sum, the following picture emerges:

(1) The subject of the social situation of the Jews in the Middle Ages is dealt with in all of the works examined. In two of them the subject area is briefly mentioned; the rest offer adequate information, given the possibilities open to school texts.

(2) Concerning persecutions of Jews in the Middle Ages, one book says nothing, five mention the subject, and three offer adequate information.

(3) Jewish settlement in Poland is not dealt with in four of the works examined; the rest briefly mention the facts.

(4) Only one work says anything about Jewish culture in the Middle Ages.

(5) The expulsion of Jews from the West European countries is also passed over in silence in most of the texts; four mention the subject.

(6) Adequate information on the emancipation of the Jews is found in two works; six refer to the subject, one has nothing.

(7) The roots of modern anti-Semitism find very detailed and differentiated treatment in three books; two provide adequate information, one has a brief reference and one omits the subject altogether.

(8a) The nullification of the rights of Jews under Nazism is described in much detail in three works; five offer adequate information, one has only a brief statement.

(8b) Six works contain sufficient information about the so-called Crystal Night; the rest refer to the subject.

(8c) The genocide of the Jews is represented memorably and in great detail in nearly all the works examined; only one of the books has too little.

(9) In contrast, Jewish contributions to German culture are appropriately described in only one of the works; another two refer to the subject.

(10) Israel is intensively dealt with in all texts examined.

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None of the books examined denies Germany's guilt; all offer adequate, and most provide detailed, information about the nullification of the Jews' rights and the persecution and murder of Jews. Heinz Kremers reaches the same conclusion: "The Nazis' annihilation of the Jews is described in history textbooks in recognition of historical responsibility. The descriptions are mainly factual and correct, i.e., the uniqueness of the events is not ignored. By 'factual and correct,' I mean that the information is generally unobjectionable, and that there are no purposeful omissions or gross intentional distortions. Defects are due more to mistakes in the presentation of material than to a principled intention to pass over certain aspects in silence or to play them down."²⁶

Reasonably adequate, too, are the references to the Jewish situation in the Middle Ages. A great deal of space is devoted to Israel. To this extent, the picture is predominantly positive.

On the other hand, only three of the nine history texts examined show a continuous presentation of material. In particular, it is only in these three books that the roots of modern anti-Semitism become clear to a fairly adequate degree. Obviously, a history text for German schools cannot be expected to include a coherent, voluminous history of Jews and Judaism. Jewish history can for the most part figure as a subject only insofar as it is embedded in German or European history. But when important information (for example, on the development of 19th century anti-Semitism out of certain social, economic and intellectual circumstances) is excessively reduced or altogether omitted, there is danger that Hitler will appear as a sort of demonic, inexplicable phenomenon; that the question of historical guilt cannot be meaningfully posed; that the purpose of historical insight is not achieved.

Any criticism, of course, must reckon with the fact that writers of history texts are faced with a difficult task. When statements about Jews are incorporated into the overall material, individual pieces of information easily disappear into the mass of data and thus will not remain present in the student's consciousness. On the other hand, when data on the Jews are summarized at some length, Jewish history becomes isolated, and the network of historical inter-relations does not become clear. The best solution of this problem would appear to be that in MZ, where passages incorporated in the descriptive text are supplemented by a relatively detailed treatment at the end of the final volume.

Methods of presentation are another question. Thus, ZM offers a description rich in factual data, very differentiated as history school texts go, in a language modeled on that of scholarship. If a textbook is to aim chiefly for cognitive goals, this is no doubt the optimum form. In my opinion, however, that is not enough. Recent discussions in Germany about the effect of the American TV production seems to me to confirm emphatically that, particularly in the case of young people, a process of personal identification must be started before the matter can be intellectually dealt with. For this purpose, finger-wagging or moralizing texts, such as are still found here and there, surely are a wholly inadequate tool. Rather, an attempt must be made; alongside the recital of facts, to reach the emotional and moral levels of the student's mind through presentation of suitable source materials and pictures. Only thus can a true understanding of history be created and a contribution made to political education.

Some of the books examined have gone a considerable way down this road.

FOOTNOTES

1. See the general catalogue of the Institute for Films and Pictures, Grünwald near Munich.
2. See, for example, W. Schulz et al., "Die Bedeutung audiovisueller Gestaltungsmittel für die Vermittlung politischer Einstellungen" ("The Significance of Audiovisual Media for the Transmission of Political Attitudes"), AV-Forschung (Audiovisual Research), XV (Grünwald, 1976).
3. Among books of this type, the following are widely used: (a) Weltgeschichte im Aufriss (World History in Outline), published by Diesterweg-Verlag, Frankfurt). Vol. III, part I of this work reproduces the following extracts, among other things: from an anti-Semitic speech by Hitler, January 30, 1939; from the so-called Wannsee Minutes, January 20, 1941; from Rudolf Höss, Commandant of Auschwitz; from Martin Broszat et al., Anatomy of the SS State, on the extermination camps. (b) Zeiten und Menschen (Times and People), edition G (published by Verlag Schöningh-Schroedel, Paderborn). Vol. II also contains, among other things, excerpts from the Wannsee Minutes and from Höss' memoirs, as well as from a series of harassing and humiliating legal measures applied to Jews: Second Ordinance for Implementation of the Law on the Altering of Family Names and Given Names, August 17, 1938; Decree by the Reich Minister of Education Concerning School Attendance by Jewish Children, November 15, 1938; Third Ordinance Pursuant to the Ordinance on Reporting Jewish Property, February 21, 1939; Police Ordinance on Marks to Identify Jews, September 1, 1941; Order on the Use of Public Transportation, April 24, 1942; Order Concerning the Keeping of Livestock, May 15, 1942; Decree of the Minister of Food Supply and Agriculture Concerning Foodstuffs for Jews, September 28, 1942. Also included are excerpts from a speech by Heinrich Himmler, October 4, 1943, and from a report of shootings of Jews in the Ukraine.

4. On this point, see: Joachim Radzan, "Geschichtswissenschaft heute: Ende der Selbstmystifikation" ("Historical Science Today: An End to Self-mystification"), Neue politische Literatur (New Political Literature, 1972), pp. 141ff; H. Hoffacher and Klaus Hildebrandt, Bestandsaufnahme Geschichtsunterricht (Taking Stock of History Teaching; Stuttgart, 1973); also E. Jäckel and Ernst Neymar, Die Funktion der Geschichte in unserer Zeit (The Function of History in Our Time; Stuttgart, 1975).
5. Cf. Wolfgang Bobke, "Von einseitigen Vorgaben kann keine Rede sein" ("Not a Question of One-sided Claims"), Buchreport (Book Report), No. 33 (1978), pp. 97ff.
6. Werner Conze, opening address at 1974 Historians' Convention, in: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht (History in Scholarship and Education), 1975, p. 75.
7. Hans Krollmann, address at a gathering of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bad Godesberg, November 1977.
8. Cf. Horst Buszello in: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht, op. cit., 1976, pp. 665ff.
9. Annette Kuhn, "Zum Begründungszusammenhang einer Geschichtsdidaktik" ("On the Foundations of a Theory of Historical Education"), in: Option für Freiheit und Menschenwürde (Option: Freedom and Dignity), Festschrift for Wolfgang Hilliger (Frankfurt, 1977), p. 84.
10. Ingrid Thienel-Saage, "Ansätze zu einer Didaktik des fächerübergreifenden politischen Unterrichts" ("Toward an Educational Theory of Multi-subject Political Instruction"), in: Das Parlament, 1978, No. 51, supplement.

11. Dieter Bossmann, editor, Was ich über Adolf Hitler gehört habe (What I have Heard About Adolf Hitler, Frankfurt, 1977).
12. Amtsblatt des Hessischen Kultusministers (Bulletin of the Hesse Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs), 1960, pp. 70ff.
13. Ibid., 1962, pp. 561ff.
14. Ibid., 1962, pp. 564ff.
15. Minutes of plenary session, April 20-21, 1978.
16. Cf. Neumann et al., Das Schulbuch als Politikum (Textbooks as a Political Object, Duisburg, 1974); Horst Schallenberger, Das Schulbuch: Produkt und Faktor gesellschaftlicher Prozesse (Textbooks: A Product of, and Factor in, Social Processes, Ratingen, 1976), Gerd Stein, Schulbuchkritik als Schulkritik (Criticism of Textbooks as Criticism of Schools, Saarbrücken 1976); Stein and Schallenberger, Das Schulbuch zwischen staatlichem Zugriff und gesellschaftlichen Forderungen (Textbooks: Between Government Intervention and Societal Demands, Ratingen, 1978).
17. Cf. Margarete Dörr, "Das Schulbuch im Geschichtsunterricht" ("Textbooks in History Teaching"), in: Die Funktion der Geschichte in unserer Zeit (The Function of History in Our Time, Stuttgart, 1975), pp. 294ff.; Horst Schallenberger, Studien zur Methodenproblematik wissenschaftlicher Schulbucharbeit (Studies in the Methodological Problems of the Scientific Examination of School Textbooks, Kastellaun, 1976).
18. Op. cit., p. 4.
19. Jürgen Ritsert, Inhaltsanalyse und Ideologiekritik (Content Analysis and Ideological Criticism, Frankfurt, 1972).

20. Peter Meyers, "Methoden zur Analyse historisch-politischer Schulbücher" ("Methods for Analyzing School Texts on History and Politics"), in: Schallenger, Studien, op. cit.
21. In: Blickpunkt Schulbuch (Focus: School Texts), April 1978, pp. 46ff.
22. Cf. Erziehungswesen und Judentum (Jewry in Education, Munich, 1960); Stein und Schallenger, "Juden, Judentum und Israel" ("Jews, Judaism and Israel"), in: Schulbuchanalyse und Schulbuchkritik (Analysis and Criticism of School Textbooks, Duisburg, 1976); Schallenger and Stein, "Juden, Judentum und Staat Israel in deutschen Schulbüchern" ("Jews, Judaism and the State of Israel in German School Texts"), in: Lebendiges Zeugnis (Living Testimony, Paderborn), 1977, Nos. 1-2.
23. Op. cit., p. 49.
24. Saul B. Robinson and Chaim Schatzker, Jüdische Geschichte in den deutschen Geschichtslehrbüchern (Jewish History in German History Texts, Brunswick, 1963).
25. Rainer Riemenschneider, Die Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich (The Persecution of Jews in the Third Reich, Brunswick, 1977).
26. Heinz Kremers, "Judentum und Holocaust im deutscher Schulunterricht" ("Jewry and the Holocaust in German School Instruction"), Politik und Zeitgeschichte (Politics and Contemporary History, supplement to the weekly Das Parlament), 1979, No. 4, pp. 37ff.